231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 492 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 457 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely [233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul.

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Production and consumption of food grains.

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Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers.

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SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

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In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

233 Chapter IV, B. — Live-Stock. Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

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For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

[439] [483]

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. Live-Stock.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariá* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *páttis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *puráns* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks. They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules, put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves, and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for *gur gur cha* but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

[1] [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

12:
2: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about 133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [134]
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233 •
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 281
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its furry little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the snow having now receded to the distant hills and left our path clear, and by about three p.m. reached Dras.

But we must not, in all fairness to the Zogi, leave it as though its presiding demons always held sway. In the three months of July, August and September, this dreaded road loses all its difficulties and is transformed into one of nature's most beautiful flower gardens. A visitor to Leh re-crossing it at the end of August describes it as follows : " The Zogi on our return journey was one vast flower garden and rockery, impossible in its wealth of beauty to describe. From my pony's back, I counted seventy different wild flowers crossing the Zogi La alone. There were carpets of edelweiss and blue gentian, mauve daisies, yellow ragwort, pink ' coralflower ' and rich purple pelargonium. The whole hillside in one part would be sky blue with a sheet of forget-me-nots, further beyond the rich verdure of the grass there would be a mass of pink or mauve where the flower grew in rich profusion."* After the bare hills of Ladak, the green slopes are extraordinarily verdant, and large flocks of sheep and goats are brought up here from the Plains in summer to pasture. We were particularly interested, one August, when stopping for the night at Machoi on our way down, to notice one of these enormous flocks pass near the rest-house in single file. One after another they came in unceasing procession, over one thousand of them, tall Kashmiri goats with their look of foolish fearfulness ludicrously mixed with the patriarchal solemnity lent by their tufted beards, all of them so expressive, and many with irresistibly humorous resemblances to one's human acquaintances, sheep of all sorts, mothers bleating and young ones following: it seemed as if they would never end. Fortunately for us their shepherds had set up a little camp quite near us at the foot of the great glacier behind Machoi, and we were able to procure a little fresh goat's milk from them instead of resorting to tins. With the words and tune of the

* *Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet.* Mrs. Lilian Starr.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

two of which weighed about one pound. And how unsophisticated they were. At first we fished with a kind of larva as bait, but this was scarce, and we had to try how small chunks of mutton would do. They proved successful, and were taken with avidity. We were told that during the autumn the natives caught them in basketfuls, for at that time of the year they go upstream every night, to return in the morning, when they are trapped and then dried, thus providing meat for the winter.

From here we ascended the Kiula Pass, and on our way met our first flock of Changpa sheep, which were slowly grazing their way up the pass. The largest of them was carrying a load, which proved to be the shepherd's bedding and food. The weight did not seem to trouble the sheep at all, nor lessen its enjoyment of the grass. In this country sheep have to carry all sorts of things. Sometimes it is salt for selling in Leh, where its carrier is turned into mutton, and flavoured from its load. At other times it is bales of wool or it may be borax. Our camp that night was pitched at 17,000 feet, and was bitterly cold. This camp really must be described, for it was a fascinating picture.

The camping ground was so small and withal so terribly rocky and uneven, that a Public Health Officer of Camps, did such exist, would have condemned it for overcrowding. There were all sorts and conditions of tents ranging from the imposing ones of the B.J.C., in front of which flew the Union Jack, and the Wazir's, flying the flag of Kashmir, down to the airy tent of the Changpa. To our left were about thirty yaks, laden and ready to start off with our second lot of camp equipment to the next halting place, for now we are travelling *de luxe*, and we like to find our camp ready when we arrive, making it unnecessary to wait exposed to the cold wind. In the centre of the camp are the horses which have brought us to-day, tethered to each other by their forelegs. What are those sheep doing to our left? They look

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

233 as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting.

372 Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of
252 *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups.

264 These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they

147 evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How

511 complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

● 233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 423 631 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal property known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay [651] [466] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice [651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 233 631 651 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collecting grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 221 439 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

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few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact, but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights